

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

With this our first number of 1909 we wish a very Happy New Year to our readers, both for themselves and for the great movement in which their hearts and ours are bound up. We are confident that a growth greater than anything that has gone before will take place during 1909, and we look forward with hope to the speedy acquisition by women of the vote—the first great concrete step in the upward march to a wider and a fuller life.

Getting to Business.

The Organisation with which this paper is more especially connected has already laid its plans for an extensive new year's campaign, and active work is even now in progress. A little less than six weeks has to elapse before the members of the House of Commons return to their political duties; this interval is to be turned to good account. In London and in all the important centres in the country the propaganda of the Women's Social and Political Union will be vigorously pushed forward. While the Cabinet are busily occupied in deliberating upon their programme for the coming Session, no opportunity will be spared of impressing upon them the necessity of includ-

ing a measure of Woman Suffrage among the projects referred to in the King's Speech.

In the Metropolis.

The London campaign opens to-day with the first of the series of weekly At Homes which are to be held every Thursday evening (except on January 14), in the new St. James's Hall. At this meeting, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Christabel Pankhurst, who have just returned from a short holiday, will be the principal speakers, and a crowded gathering is expected. The series of afternoon At Homes recommence next Monday in the Queen's Hall, when Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Christabel Pankhurst will all address the audience. And a specially interesting meeting is promised for next Thursday evening when a presentation will be made to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh in the Queen's Hall. Mrs. Drummond will, as before, take charge of all the arrangements for the London campaign, with Jessie Kenney as her principal lieutenant. Adela Pankhurst will also be working for a short time in London, and Miss Flatman is acquiring the experience requisite for the responsible position of organiser to the Union.

Throughout the Country.

One of the developments of the new year is to be the inauguration of a Home Counties Campaign. The West of England campaign, under the charge of Annie Kenney, is undergoing considerable extension; to the Bristol head offices at 33, Queen's-road, Clifton, are shortly to be added offices at Torquay, and from this centre, Miss Elsie Howey is conducting a campaign in Plymouth, Paignton, and other parts of Devonshire. Mary Gawthorpe will continue the Lancashire campaign, working from the new offices at 164, Oxford-road, Manchester. The work in Yorkshire will be under the charge of Miss Charlotte Marsh, assisted by Miss Nellie Crocker, and the centre will be, as before, at 61, Manningham-lane, Bradford. Gladice Keevil will superintend the work in the Midlands, the offices being at 14, Ethel-street, Birmingham, and Mary Phillips is taking up the work in Northumberland, with offices at 37, Rye-hill, Newcastle. Finally, the Scottish campaign is being conducted by Miss Gertrude Conolan, the central offices being at 141, Bath-street, Glasgow. Sylvia Pankhurst is temporarily superintending a campaign in Aberdeen. In all these places At Homes are held regularly each week, at which strangers are welcome and where the meaning and significance of the movement is explained. Particulars are given in VOTES FOR WOMEN each week.

A Campaign of Meetings.

A special series of large meetings is being organised for the New Year in order to enable women in all parts of the country to learn for themselves the reasons which have impelled women to act in the way they have done in order to win the vote for their sex. These meetings will take place in each of the centres of the national campaigns and elsewhere. Among those which have been already arranged are those in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on January 19, to be addressed by Christabel Pankhurst, in the Corn Exchange, Leicester, on January 29, to be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, and that in the Colston Hall, Bristol, on February 12, at which also Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Miss Edith New has charge of the arrangements for the Leicester meeting.

Interesting Events of the Week.

Reports reach us from many quarters of the interest shown in votes for women even during the holiday season. At Villars, in Switzerland, a number of English visitors, on learning of the presence of suffragettes, sent a special request to Christabel Pankhurst for an address; as a result, a large room, holding about 400, was taken and crowded to overflowing by a most attentive audience, who put a number of questions afterwards on the subject of tactics.

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

To-night commences the first of the new series of Thursday evening At Homes in London, which are being held in the St. James's Hall, Great Portland-street, from 8 to 10. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will take the chair, and Christabel Pankhurst will also speak. Admission is free, but there will be a certain number of reserved seats at 2s. 6d. and 1s. each.

Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst.

Next Thursday evening, in place of the weekly At Home, a special meeting will be held in the Queen's Hall, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will be the principal speaker, and a special presentation will be made to her. On the same occasion a presentation will also be made to Mrs. Leigh. Mrs. Pankhurst's presentation is a chain and pendant of amethysts, pearls, and emeralds, wrought in gold by a special expert in artistic jewellery, and is very beautiful. The committee feel sure that it will satisfy even the members and friends who feel that nothing is beautiful enough to express the thoughts and feelings that they have about the founder of the Union. On this occasion the whole of the hall will be charged for, prices 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. Tickets can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., or from the box-office, Queen's Hall. The Chain and Pendant presented to Mrs. Pankhurst will be on view at the At Home on the following Monday afternoon.

At Homes in the Queen's Hall.

The first of the Monday afternoon At Homes from 3 to 5 in the Queen's Hall will be held on Monday afternoon, January 11. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst will both speak. Admission will be free, but a certain number of seats will be reserved at 2s. 6d. in the stalls, and the whole of the dress circle seats will be charged for at 1s.

At Homes Throughout the Country.

The holidays being over, the series of At Homes which have drawn such large numbers of people to listen to speeches from members of the Women's Social and Political Union all over the country are beginning again. In the West of England the first At Home of the New Year takes place this evening at Paignton, in the Masonic Hall, at 4 p.m. To-morrow (Friday) an At Home will be held in the Royal Hotel, Plymouth, at 4 p.m., and at Bristol, Victoria Rooms, on Monday, at 3.30 p.m. In the Midlands At Homes have already recommenced; they are held on Tuesday evenings in the Priory Rooms, Old-square, Birmingham, at 7.30 p.m., on Wednesdays at Edgbaston Assembly Rooms at 3.30 p.m., and on Thursdays in the Baths Assembly Rooms, Wolverhampton—this is an evening At Home. The Newcastle At Homes are held on Wednesdays, from 3 to 5 and 8 to 10 p.m., in Crosby's Café, Northumberland-street, and at Wallsend, on Fridays, from 7 to 9, in the I.L.P. Institute, Chestnut-street. In Scotland the first At Home of the year will be held on Saturday, at 141, Bath-street, Glasgow at 3.30 p.m. The Edinburgh At Homes are on Wednesdays, 4 p.m., at 24, Shandwick Place. The first New Year's At Home in Lancashire will be held to-morrow (Friday), at Onward-buildings, Deansgate, from 8 to 10 p.m.

Lectures in the New Year.

Two interesting lectures have been arranged by the W.S.P.U. to take place in February. Miss Chrystal Macmillan, who recently fought the case of the Scottish graduates in the House of Lords, has kindly consented to lecture on Tuesday, February 16, and Elizabeth Robins, whom we are always delighted to listen to, will lecture on February 23. Tickets will be issued shortly, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. The lectures will be in the St. James's Hall.

Exhibition at the Princes' Skating Rink.

Arrangements are proceeding for the great exhibition which is to be held by the N.W.S.P.U. from Monday, May 17, to Saturday, May 22, in the Princes' Skating Rink, Knightsbridge, and particulars will be given next week.

"Votes for Women" Bound Volume.

So great has been the demand for the bound volumes of VOTES FOR WOMEN that the whole of the original number have been sold, and also all but five of the twenty-five further volumes which were bound after reprinting the issue of January, 1908. After these are sold the issue for December, 1907, will have to be reprinted and the price raised to 15s. This will enable a further twenty-five volumes to be bound. If after these are exhausted there is still a further demand, other issues will have to be reprinted, and the price still further increased in order to cover

the necessary outlay. Orders, therefore, should be sent at once to the publisher, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Readers who have copies of any of the issues prior to August are asked to send them at once to the publisher, to make up sets for binding. Full price will be paid for copies in good preservation.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to January 29.

Jan. 7	London, Sloane Square	Miss Naylor, Miss M. Sheppard	12 noon.
Thur. 7	Paignton, At Home, Masonic Hall	..	4 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street, W.	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others	8 p.m.
Fri. 8	Levizes, Town Hall, Debate	Miss Isabel Seymour	4 p.m.
	Plymouth, At Home, Royal Hotel	..	4 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10 p.m.
Sat. 9	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath St.	..	3.30 p.m.
	West Hoathley	Miss Isabel Seymour	..
Sun. 10	Brixton, Raleigh College Hall	Miss Macaulay	11 a.m.
Mon. 11	South Kensington Station	Miss Naylor	12 noon.
	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
	Bristol, At Home, Victoria Rooms	..	3.30 p.m.
Tues. 1	Birmingham, At Home, Priory Rooms, Old Square	..	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 13	Newcastle, At Home, Crosby's Café, Northumberland Street	..	3-5 and 8-10 p.m.
	Birmingham, At Home, Edgbaston Assembly Rooms	..	3.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, 24, Shandwick Place	..	4 p.m.
	Bolton, Wood Street Social Club	Dr. Letitia Fairfield	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, At Home	Committee of Chelsea W.S.P.U.	8-10 p.m.
Thur. 14	London, Public Meeting, Queen's Hall, and Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Manchester, St. James' Institute, Collyhurst	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Great Portland Street, W., Shop Assistants' Amalgamated Union	Miss L. Higgins	8 p.m.
	Wolverhampton, At Home, Baths Assembly Rooms
Fri. 15	Wallsend, At Home, I.L.P. Institute, Chestnut Street	..	7-9 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10 p.m.
	Crouch End, "Ye China Cup," Park Road	Hornsey W.S.P.U.	..
Sat. 16	Copenhagen, Public Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharp	..
Mon. 18	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
	Peterborough Debating Society	Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Southwater, Sussex, Debate	Miss New	..
Tues. 19	Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Wed. 20	Edinburgh, Albert Buildings, 24, Shandwick Place	Miss Chrystal Macmillan	4 p.m.
Thur. 21	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Barnes, Debate, Byfield Hall	Mrs. Naylor v. H. Rand, Esq.	8 p.m.
Mon. 25	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
	Leicester, Corn Exchange	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Thur. 28	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others	8 p.m.
Fri. 29	London, Drawing-room Meeting, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson's, 22, Bedford Square	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
	Levenshstone	Miss Isabel Seymour	..

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENT.

1909		
May	Princes' Skating Rink	Exhibition

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

December 30 to January 5.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	26,374	7	9	Miss Lena Willcocks	0	5	0
The Misses McGowan	0	10	0	Anon.	10	0	0
A Christmas gift to four	1	1	0	Anon.	1	0	0
Suffragette sisters	0	2	6	Misses E. and S. Thompson	0	10	0
Miss M. Shoults (collected)	0	2	0	Mrs. Mona Caird	0	13	6
Dr. and Mrs. Lovegrove	0	1	0	Miss J. Gratton	1	0	0
Miss E. A. Thompson	1	0	0	Mrs. W. Augener	1	1	0
W. R. Snow, Esq.	1	0	0	Miss Rosalind Paget	0	10	0
R. G. Snow, Esq.	4	0	0	Miss A. E. Willson (two weeks)	2	2	0
Miss Janet McLeod	0	1	0	Mme. Sales, of Lescar	10	0	0
Mrs. Sarah Clegg	10	0	0	Miss Agnes Champ	1	0	0
Miss D. Brailsford	2	0	0	Mrs. R. A. Billingham	5	0	0
Miss Smith	1	1	0	James Murray, Esq., M.P.	1	0	0
Anon.	1	0	0	Contributions to By-Election Fund—			
Miss L. Clunas	0	1	0	W. R. Snow, Esq.	1	0	0
Miss E. M. Godwin	1	1	0	E. M. V. Brighton	0	5	0
Scottish W.S.P.U.	2	0	0	Membership Entrance Fees	0	11	0
Miss Irene Spong	3	0	0	Collections, &c.	31	19	7
Per Miss J. R. Campbell (for Bradford secretary)	1	0	0	Total	26,470	7	10
Misses M. and W. Turner	0	2	6				
Miss Mary Blahway	1	0	0				

TAMWORTH BY-ELECTION.

Unionist Mr. F. A. Newdegate.

The figures at the last election were as follows:—Sir Philip A. Muntz (Con.), 2,361; Mr. J. Seymour-Kay (Lib.), 4,842.

It is still uncertain whether a Liberal candidate will present himself for the Tamworth vacancy created by the death of Sir Philip A. Muntz. Should he do so, a vigorous campaign will be conducted by the W.S.P.U., under the charge of Mrs. Drummond.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

On behalf of the International Ladies' Club, Paris, the President has sent a congratulatory message to Christabel Pankhurst, thanking the leaders of the W.S.P.U. "for their wonderful pluck and courageous work." The president adds that "she is wholly at heart with them, and wishes a rapid success."

The Russian Women's Congress.

The first Congress of the Women of the Russian Empire brought its deliberations to an end on December 29. It forms a landmark in the history of the modern movement for the emancipation of women, for women to the number of nearly 1,000 from every part of the Empire, including representatives of Poland, the Baltic Provinces, Finland, and not a few Jewesses, gathered together for the first time to discuss social and political questions, of great moment to women. The conclusions to which they were led and the demands which they formulated are of profound interest.

Dr. Shabanova, who is one of the chief leaders in the woman's movement in Russia, in an opening speech of great enthusiasm, referred to the world-wide awakening of women to a demand for freedom and equality with men. The programme was divided into three sections: (1) Educational; (2) Economic; (3) Political. So far as can be gathered from the reports which have reached us, the desire of the leaders of the movement appears to have been the formation of a Women's Social and Political Union on the English lines, *i.e.*, which should declare itself independent of all political parties, and devote itself to winning the franchise. Throughout the police supervision seems to have been most drastic. It was decided at the outset that only a few outsiders, other than Press representatives, could be admitted; and, thousands of young men and women were turned away from the doors after severe struggles. Later in the proceedings a paper on the militant suffrage movement in England was vetoed by the authorities. The following resolution was debated at the sectional meetings, and adopted at a general meeting on the last day of the Congress:—

The work of the Russian Women's Congress has thrown, as far as was within its power, a light on the political requirements and economic needs of the contemporary Russian woman, and has led it to the deep conviction that these demands can only be satisfied by equal rights for women, not only in skilled work, but in the political structure of the country, access to which will only be definitely opened to women with the introduction of a democratic régime on the basis of universal suffrage without difference of age, sex, or nationality. The Congress places before women the great aim of acquiring these rights as the chief weapon for the emancipation and freedom of the personality of woman.

Another resolution demanded the right of women to take part in the election of members of both town and country local government bodies, and, further, to be elected to them. The broadening of the marriage laws, the evils of drink, and the State regulation of vice, formed the subject of other resolutions. At the close of the Congress a speaker entered the tribune, and said that it was impossible to separate without expressing their condemnation of capital punishment. Although no resolution was put, the continued applause was sufficient evidence of the sympathy of the assembly. A police officer at once came forward and said that the meeting must be closed, to which the president replied: "We have already finished."

A Girl Bellringer.

Although not yet sixteen years of age, Miss Lillian Wilson, of Leicester, has just accomplished the remarkable feat of taking part in ringing a peal of "5,072 Bob Major" on the bells of St. John the Divine, Leicester. The bells are considered to be the finest tuned peal on Canon Simpson's principle within 100 miles, and the peal occupied 3¼ hours. Miss Wilson, who accomplished the peal with comparative ease, has recently been elected a member of the Midland Counties Association of Change Ringers.

Heroism in the Earthquake.

Among many stories of heroism from the scene of the terrible earthquake is one of a girl of twelve, a boarder in a convent at Monteleone, where the devastation was perhaps the most terrible of any portion of the stricken area. Having herself escaped from the tottering convent, she returned again and again to rescue her companions and assist the nuns, who had resigned themselves to death. In climbing down the crumbling walls, the staircases having disappeared—before the final collapse of the building—this child, barefoot and half-clothed, succeeded, at imminent risk of her own life, in rescuing four little girl friends and three nuns, who had become nearly helpless through fear or injuries. An old woman, imprisoned under fallen masonry at Bagnara, screamed to a young man who was attempting to rescue her from approaching flames to stand back out of danger, and was herself almost immediately crushed under the burning ruins.

Dr. Carlo, of Palermo, owes his life to his young wife. As in many other instances, they were thrown out of bed by the shock, and while his wife was imprisoned under the bed, her husband

was thrown a short distance away, and buried under a heap of ruins. After heroic struggles the wife succeeded in freeing herself, and then, though suffering from wounds in the head, shoulders, and arms, she managed to extricate her husband. Queen Elena is working indefatigably in relieving the sufferings of the unfortunate women and children, and her splendid endurance and mountaineering qualities are standing her in good stead. Queen Margherita has sent all her horses, carriages, and automobiles to help in the work of transporting the injured as they are landed at Naples. The Duchess of Aosta has had the royal palace at Naples converted into a hospital, and is herself acting as a nurse. Her Highness has also, with other Italian women of high rank, taken some orphaned children to the Palace, and has made herself responsible for them. Several parties of ladies belonging to the Red Cross Society have left Paris for Naples, and thence by a French warship to Messina; the Comtesse d'Haussonville, who is president of the Red Cross Society, states that no fewer than ninety young women have offered themselves for this work.

A report from Sicily says that the Anglo-American colony, formed of 50 women and men, who were at Taormina at the time of the earthquake, headed by Miss Hill, gathered at the station at Giardini, 30 miles from Messina, on the road to Catania. Here they have organised splendid assistance for the wounded, calling forth expressions of admiration for the devotion and self-sacrifice they have shown in accomplishing their humanitarian task.

Postmistress's Courageous Struggle.

Miss M'Carraher, who has charge of the Rock Ferry Post Office, was early on New Year's Eve savagely attacked by a man who entered the post office and asked for stamps. Having stunned his victim with a poker, the man, it is said, worked at the safe door, the keys of which he had, it is alleged, forced her to give up. Recovering consciousness, and being determined to save the Government property under her charge, Miss M'Carraher contrived to reach the door, and had placed her hand on the knob when the man sprang from the safe, and dragging her back into the shop by her hair, felled her again with the poker, and before she recovered consciousness struck her also with a jug of water. Revived by the water, Miss M'Carraher once more dragged herself to the door, and lay unconscious among melting snow, where she was found badly wounded on the head. Meanwhile, her alleged assailant ran off, but was caught and charged before the Birkenhead magistrates.

Women as Chauffeurs.

After unsuccessfully trying eight chauffeurs within a few months, a well-known professional man in London has engaged his daughter, who applied for the vacant post, to drive his car. She is on call at all hours of the day, and is paid the same salary as the men who preceded her. In addition to a couple of years' experience, her technical knowledge was gained at a school of motor-driving, where she passed through the workshops, and she is enthusiastic on the subject of motor-driving as a profession for women. Miss Sheila O'Neill, an Irishwoman who went through the Boer War as a nurse, has just completed her training as a chauffeur, and is plying a motor-car in the London streets for hire. The course of training occupied about nine months, and was taken at a private motor school. The car driven on the first professional run through London traffic was a 12 h.p. private car.

New Year Honours for a Woman.

In the Indian New Year honours list appears the name of a Bengali woman, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who has achieved distinction as a writer of English verse. She is the author of "The Golden Threshold," published in London about three years ago with a highly appreciative introduction from Mr. Arthur Symonds. When in England Mrs. Naidu came under the notice of Mr. Edmund Gosse, who doubtless thought that in her he had discovered a successor to Toru Dutt, the gifted Bengali girl whose poems he introduced to the English public more than a quarter of a century ago. Mrs. Naidu lives at Hyderabad, and is the wife of a medical officer in the Nizam's service.

Municipal Work.

Although at the recent mayoral election at High Wycombe, Bucks, Miss Dove was defeated, she has been elected chairman of the Unemployed Committee of the Town Council of the same borough.

Miss Janet Case, M.A., of Windmill Hill, Hampstead, has been adopted by the Hampstead Non-Political and Progressive Association as candidate for the Borough Council seat, vacant through Councillor E. E. Lake becoming an alderman. Miss Case has been hon. secretary of the association since its formation in 1900.

Women Ready for Transport Duty.

The Montenegrin women have appealed to Prince Nicholas to allow them to do transport work in the event of war with Austria.

THE REST OF US.

A woman said to me the other day, referring to the general indignation at the confinement of political prisoners in the second division in Holloway: "What cowards these women are! They deliberately choose to go to prison—just for the sake of notoriety, I suppose—and then they grumble because they are treated like other prisoners. Why should they expect favours?"

"But," I objected, "they don't want favours; they want justice." And I proceeded to explain the difference between common thieves, pickpockets, slanderers, drunkards, &c., and political offenders.

"They disobeyed the law, and they are sent to prison; they deserve it!" said my friend.

I sat down and argued the matter exhaustively for about twenty minutes. I thought I had made some headway. At the end of that time my friend said, in the tone of finality she had used at the beginning: "They went to prison of their own accord, and they shouldn't grumble at being treated as prisoners. I have no patience with them. They want notoriety, that's all. It serves them right!"

"It serves them right!" So this was all, I thought, spirit-weary, as I rose to go—this was all. They fought, they suffered; they accepted punishment without the fault. And when their comrades, roused to blazing anger by their degradation, raised a cry for at least some small tardy show of justice, this was all the other women—for whose sake this fighting, and struggling, and proud submitting had been done—had for them in their time of trial—"It serves them right!"

Weary—yes, I was weary for a moment. But not for long, for I remembered the rest of us—those of us who had not as yet fought, but whose hearts longed ardently after the plucky fighters—longed, too, after the fight, and might some day, if they had need of us, go to join it. For we have no self-complacent "It serves them right!"

We stand before these women, who come from their prisons laden with new purpose, new will, new strength for battle; we stand before them, and we are ashamed. We are ashamed as ghosts are ashamed before the morning. For they have done things, these women, that we have only dreamed.

And yet—beware! Beware, you Ministers of State, you Men in Power, you Men all over the world!

There are hundreds of us, there are thousands of us—beware! Not much longer shall we look on calmly whilst you persecute those who are fighting for us with all their strength and power. Not much longer.

We, too, soon shall rise. You shall find all womanhood against you—all womanhood save those few who shall stay at home, and say, in their comfortable, despicable ease, "It serves them right!"

Can't you see how we are gathering round—cautiously, it may be, reluctantly, because we have husbands we would not leave, sweethearts whose approval is dear to us, fathers who laugh or are bitter and stern, and we have not all the courage of these great ones—yet gathering, surely gathering? Can't you hear the murmur of us, you powerful ones, you arrogant ones, you the obtuse?

* * * *

Do they read these things—the Cabinet Ministers, the men at the head of affairs? Or is it with them as with Royalty—do their secretaries hand them only such matter as may be read by them without danger—danger to their prejudices, danger to their dense stupidity? Let us hope it is so, for their sakes. Let us hope they do not read and know all there is to be read and known. For if a

man *knows*, and is at the wheel, and yet turns not the ship about, what shall be said of him? We cannot even pity such a man. His judgment will come.

Notoriety? Mad, indeed, for notoriety would these women be if for its sake they sought ridicule, and privation, and the torturing tedium of prison; and (most incomprehensible of all to a male mind!) masculine disapprobation and animosity! No, it is some stronger passion urges them; and the strength of it is overflowing into us—the others, the hundreds and the thousands.

So once more, you men who read these things we women write: Beware!

Rita Murray Gregory.

WOMAN AND WAR.

And poise the cause in Justice' equal scales,

Whose beams stand sure, whose rightful cause prevails.

—Shakespeare.

As many still think the force argument not only the strongest but the most unanswerable argument against Women's Suffrage, it may be well to point out wherein it fails. John Stuart Mill said that women, if weaker, are therefore all the more in need of the franchise as a compensating advantage. All have not this sweet reasonableness. Let us admit, therefore, for the sake of argument, that force is a right and just basis for the franchise, and regard it from that standpoint.

Though men have not the power of the elephant, the bull, or the horse, it has never been suggested that they should be deprived of the vote on that account! And if followed to a logical conclusion on this basis it would only be given to the Sandows of the nation. To pursue this *reductio ad absurdum* further, national physical drill would become all-important; medical examination and trials of strength would have to be passed by any anxious to obtain the necessary vote qualification.

So far from this being the case, men who have physical defects, such as blindness, lameness, paralysis, which would render them more incapable in war than normal women, are not disfranchised, whereas naval and military officers, soldiers and sailors, trained to defend their country, are voteless.

Were it a desirable qualification—for man or woman—is it true that women are not possessed of fighting force?

In ancient and mediæval times there were women warriors whose names are household words. It was Artemesia, Queen of Halicarnassus, who led her ships against the Grecian fleet at the battle of Salamis, and made Xerxes exclaim, "My men have become women, my women men!" In present times, during the Boer war, and the Russo-Japanese war, there were examples of women as devoted to their country's cause as their male kindred, who were acknowledged to be unerring shots, and who took up arms, disguising themselves as men, rather than be left in comparative safety in "the home." In our own country some of the highest prizes attainable for rifle shooting and revolver practice have been gained by women.

Notwithstanding the shackles of prejudice and conventionality with which man has bound them, this same passionate agitation for political freedom through which we are now passing, making "women fight to doff their dire distress," shows that the primitive fighting force of women remains as strong as it is in men: no more to be bound by sex than the primeval forces of the wind or sea.

But were it true that women cannot and do not fight when necessity calls, which history has proved to be false, they are, at any rate, called upon to pay Imperial taxes, wherewith to support their country's defence, and it is lamentable that in this 20th century thinking persons can still be found, who consider women to be unworthy of the suffrage for the only reason that they do not actively participate in war.

Edith Bateson.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXXIX. — *The First "Raid" on the House.*

Whilst Teresa Billington and Annie Kenney were up in Scotland during the late summer and autumn of 1906, as we saw last week, converting Mr. Asquith's constituents, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mary Gawthorpe, of Leeds, who had recently been appointed as organiser to the W.S.P.U., were carrying on an energetic campaign in Wales, so that when, in September, Mr. Samuel Evans accepted a Law Officership under the Crown, and was consequently obliged to offer himself for re-election, they were on the ground ready to oppose him. As it will be remembered, Mr. (now Sir) Samuel Evans was one of those primarily responsible for the talking out of Mr. Keir Hardie's Woman Suffrage resolution, so that, in addition to his being an official Liberal candidate, the Suffragettes had another reason for wishing to prevent his return. Unfortunately, however, no candidate was brought out against Mr. Evans, but the women did not allow him to escape altogether, for Miss Mary Gawthorpe attended two of his meetings, and proceeded to talk him out, as he had talked out Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons. She was warmly supported by a large group of men, and at last, when the chairman found it impossible to quell the disturbance, he started the singing of the Welsh National Anthem. But Miss Mary Gawthorpe had prepared herself for this manoeuvre, and she won all hearts by leading off the singing. The result of this was that Mrs. Evans was said to have announced that next time there was a Woman Suffrage debate in the House of Commons, she should keep her husband at home!

At the same time the work was going on well in London under the guidance of Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. October 13, 1906, the first anniversary of the beginning of the militant tactics, was celebrated by a great meeting in Hyde Park.

On October 23 Parliament assembled for the Autumn Session, and the W.S.P.U. decided to make another effort to induce the Government to take up the question of Woman Suffrage. A large number of women, therefore, assembled outside the Strangers' Entrance to the House of Commons, but this professedly democratic Government had given orders to the police that no working women were to be allowed in, and that only ladies who were particularly well dressed were to be admitted. Some twenty women were, however, allowed to pass the scrutineers, and Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then sent in for the chief Liberal Whip, and requested him to ask the Prime Minister on their behalf whether he proposed to do anything during the Session to give women the vote, whether he proposed to include the registration of qualified women voters under the provisions of the Plural Voting Bill, and, failing that, if there was any other way in which he proposed to give them enfranchisement. The Liberal Whip soon returned with an unfavourable answer, and when asked if the Prime Minister was prepared to hold out any hope for the women for any other Session during that Parliament or at any future time, he replied, "No."

Then the two leaders returned to their comrades, and consulted with them. They had received a direct rebuff, and they felt that they must do something immediately to prove that they were in earnest in their desire for the franchise, and that they would not allow their claims to be overlooked in future without protest.

It was, therefore, decided to hold a meeting in the Strangers' Lobby of the House of Commons. Mary Gawthorpe thereupon jumped up on to one of the settees close to Sir Stafford Northcote's monument, and began to address the crowd. The women closed up round her, but she was almost immediately pulled down and ejected from the lobby by the police. Mrs. Despard, a sister of General French, then took her place, and after she also had been dragged away, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and several others attempted to speak, but one after the other they were thrown roughly out into the street, and the order was given to clear the lobby. Mrs. Pankhurst was thrown to the ground in the outer entrance hall, and many of the women, thinking that she was seriously hurt, clustered around her, and refused to leave her side.

Outside the House of Commons the women still continued to demonstrate, and many of them were arrested. In the midst of the struggle Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was somewhat roughly handled, and Annie Kenney, who was standing by, and who by

order of the W.S.P.U. had purposely taken no part in the demonstration, ran up and asked her if she was hurt. Being already well known to the police, Annie Kenney was immediately arrested, and when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence cried out, "You shall not take this girl; she has done nothing," she was also taken into custody.

Next morning the women were brought up at Rochester-row Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith. One of the prisoners was Mrs. Annie Cobden Sanderson, the daughter of Richard Cobden; and her sisters, Mrs. Cobden Unwin, Mrs. Cobden Sickert, and the friends and relatives of the other women had come early in order to secure a seat in the Court, and hear their trial. Whilst another case was being proceeded with the usher came to these ladies and asked them to leave the Court, in order to make room for others, saying, "You shall be allowed in here when your case comes on." They therefore did so, but were prevented from returning, and subsequently no women were permitted to enter. A score of women who had come to give evidence as voluntary witnesses, and whose names had also been sent in by the defendants themselves as persons who were witnesses, were told that they could not go into the Court, but were taken to a side room, where an attempt was made to lock them in. This they prevented by standing in the doorway.

Meanwhile, the ten women Suffragists had been placed in the dock together, and after the police evidence had been heard against them, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson asked leave to make a statement. She said that she had gone to the House of Commons to demand the vote. So long as women were deprived of citizen rights, she said, they had no constitutional means of obtaining redress, and therefore she claimed that women had a right to be heard in the House of Commons and to protest outside. She wished to take the whole responsibility of the demonstration upon her own shoulders, "for," she said, "if anyone is guilty it is I. I was arrested as one of the ringleaders; being one of the oldest persons, I was most responsible, but I do not acknowledge the authority of this Court as long as I have no word or part in the making of the laws I am asked to obey. I will only quote the words of the President of the Board of Trade [Mr. John Burns]. Under similar circumstances he said: 'I am a rebel, because I am an outlaw. I am a law-breaker because I desire to be a law-maker.'" At this point the magistrate, who had repeatedly interrupted her, refused to hear any more, or to allow any statement at all from the other prisoners. He said that each of the ten defendants must enter into their own recognisances to keep the peace, and find a surety for their good behaviour in £10, or go to prison for two months.

The women at once protested against the mockery of a trial, and raising a banner bearing the words, "Women should vote for the laws they obey, and the taxes they pay," declared that they would not leave the dock without a statement from them being heard. The magistrate, however, called the police, and they were forcibly removed.

The Police Court authorities now returned to the women who were waiting in the witnesses' room, and told them that their case was over, and that their friends had been taken to Holloway. Full of anger and disappointment, they therefore turned to go, but Sylvia Pankhurst went back to the door of the Court. The doorkeepers said, "It is all over; there is nothing to interest you now," but she moved quickly past them, and, entering the Court, addressed the magistrate. She told him how the women had been refused admittance whilst the trial was in progress, and how some of those who had actually taken their seats had been tricked into leaving. She pointed out that as it was customary to allow the general public, and especially friends of the prisoners, into a Police Court, whilst a trial was in progress, it was unfair to refuse to allow it in this case, and it was likely to make both the accused and their friends lose confidence in the justice of the trial. She also told the magistrate of the attempt to lock the witnesses up in the witnesses' room, and the refusal to allow them to be present in order to give evidence. Here she was interrupted by Mr. Horace Smith, who said, "There is no truth in your statements, the Court was crowded," and she was immediately dragged out into the street by the police.

A large crowd made up of the general public, together with a considerable number of members and friends of the Union, had collected outside the principal entrance to the Court, and Sylvia Pankhurst therefore began to tell her story. She had scarcely begun, however, before she was arrested and charged with causing an obstruction, and within a few moments was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of £1 or to undergo fourteen days' imprisonment in the third and lowest class. Needless to say, she chose the latter. As she was being taken to the cells, she met the ten other Suffragists who were being taken back into the dock, in order that they might say whether they would agree to be bound over. They all stoutly refused to do so, and so they, too, were removed to the cells.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"THE DAILY NEWS," January 1.

Outside the field of party politics the most striking fact has been the progress of the movement for Women's Suffrage. An impressive procession through London organised by the older societies, a vast "militant" demonstration in Hyde Park, and the constant advertisement gained by the violent tactics of the Left Wing, have certainly made the question a reality of practical politics. On the one hand, Mr. Asquith startled his party by pledging himself to give facilities for the emancipation of women by an amendment, if on democratic lines, in the promised Reform Bill; on the other hand, the anti-Suffragists have begun to organise the opposition, and some moderate supporters of the franchise have been visibly alienated by the tactics of the extremists.

"THE ESSEX WEEKLY NEWS," January 1.

The militant Suffragettes, and also the Suffragettes who are not militant, are not to have things all their own way. The ladies who captured the hearts of the electors of Mid-Essex during the recent by-election, as well as their friends and supporters everywhere, are opposed by the Women's Anti-Suffrage League. But the Anti-Suffrage League had better explain why, since women are allowed to hold and dispose of property, and are taxed, they should be denied a Parliamentary vote. Taxation without representation is tyranny.

"THE EVENING NEWS," January 1.

In January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, and December the voice of the militant Suffragists will be heard demanding votes for women, and the agitation will result in the imprisonment of a number of women.

"THE IRISH NEWS."

Lord Robert Cecil's Bill making interference with public meetings a "criminal offence" is at once a compliment to the Suffragettes and what our Yankee friends would call "a tough proposition." It will require careful consideration. The brains of English womanhood, so far as one can judge, are on the side of the Suffragettes.

"THE LABOUR LEADER," January 1.

Even the most grudging estimate of the Union's influence must surely admit that it has carried many leagues forward the claim of women's right to a share in all the greater and deeper efforts for the uplifting of mankind.

"THE GLOBE," December 23, 1908.

The origin of the ladies' "grille" and the exclusion of women from the House of Commons were explained by the Speaker in his evidence before the Committee on the Admission of Strangers. "I believe," the Speaker said, "ladies were admitted to the body of the House until a certain lady would not withdraw when notice was taken that strangers were present; and it took three hours to clear her out. She was a very celebrated professional beauty of the name of Mrs. Musters, and members crowded round her and protected her for three hours. After that they determined they would not let any more ladies in again. The only place the ladies had to view the proceedings in the old Chamber was through the ventilating shaft at the top of the old St. Stephen's Hall. There was a sort of balcony where the ladies sat or stood; they could hear the debate, and just catch sight of the members' heads below."

This continued up to the fire of 1834. The incident of Mrs. Musters seems to have taken place in 1778. The Speaker also stated that there is only one room in the Clock Tower where an offender can be confined, and this room will accommodate only one.

"HEALTH AND STRENGTH," January 2.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst's imprisonment will prove a blessing in disguise if the reform in prison clothing she has so eloquently advocated since her release is brought about. "The clothes," she says, "are all too heavy. They are cut to one pattern. Thin women and stout have the same sizes. As the clothes are worn out the authorities should make the new ones on new stock patterns, under the advice of a hygienic expert." "Hear, hear!" say I to that.

Miss Pankhurst also observes: "The window of my cell had never been opened since it was built. It never *could* be opened. Why don't the authorities use their terms of imprisonment to teach the women to open their windows and to demonstrate by a plain nourishing dietary the right way to live?" "Hear, hear!" I say again. If Miss Pankhurst ever gets the vote—and she certainly

will if she lives long enough—she will, at all events, vote for fresh air, and that's one to her. Ah! Portia! almost thou persuadest me to be a Suffragist.

"THE DAILY NEWS," December 29.

"Thinking Imperially."

Human ingenuity has at last been equal to the task of devising a new argument against Woman's Suffrage. This feat was accomplished yesterday in the correspondence columns of the *Times*, and its author was an Anglo-Indian. It certainly is a trenchant and quite logical argument, and we will only stipulate that those who adopt it shall have the courage to draw from it all its latent wisdom. It runs somewhat as follows. Our Asiatic subjects have their eyes upon us, much as the editor of the Skibbereen *Eagle* fixed his eye on the Tsar of Russia. Our rule depends largely on our prestige, which means their good opinion. But what would Pathans, Rajputs, Sikhs, and Indian Mohammedans think of us if they realised that the Parliament which ultimately governs them were elected in part by women? This is a tremendous thought, and once admit it no wholehearted Imperialist can be content to stop. It is obvious, for example, that under the rule of the late Queen all the races must have been raging with suppressed rebellion. At length we understand the mutiny. How utterly they must despise us when they learn that our women leave the harem, walk the streets unveiled, and labour in factories. Nay, more, is it conceivable that a Mohammedan should retain a vestige of loyalty when he learns that from the Court downwards his rulers publicly drink wine? The late action of the House of Lords towards the Licensing Bill is in itself enough to account for all the recent unrest in India. And let us not forget that we have to face the public opinion, not of Indians alone, but of countless thousands of other races who also judge and criticise us. The cannibals of Ashanti and Nigeria, for example, will be horrified to learn that we propose to emancipate women; but that, after all, is a trifle. We actually refuse to eat them.

[The letter to which the above leader in the *Daily News* for December 29 refers, appeared in the *Times* of December 28, under the heading "Woman Suffrage and India." The writer says that anyone with a working knowledge of the country would readily understand the polite incredulity, possibly the astonishment, with which a Sikh, a Pathan, a Rajput, or, indeed, any average Hindu or Mussulman, would learn that in future the British Mejliss, or Parliament, on which, in the last resort, the Government of India depends, was to be elected by women as well as men. The notion would seem to them "absurd and degrading," and would, if reduced to practice, tend strongly to undermine their loyalty to British rule.]

HOW JOHN BULL SOLVES HIS POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

The accompanying amusing sketch represents an American view of the militant agitation in England. The cartoon of which this drawing is a part appeared in *The Call* (New York), and represents John Bull's method of dealing with the Irishman, the Boer, the



African, the Chinese, and the Suffragette. Each of the first four he is seen attacking with ferocious courage; the Suffragette, however, is his fifth and apparently most frightening problem, and from her he is shown running away!

A NEW YEAR MESSAGE.

It is my earnest belief that the welfare of this country is bound up in the granting of equal citizenship to women; and all I would ask of opponents is that they would at least take the trouble to listen, with goodwill and with open minds to those who are urging upon the conscience of the community what they hold to be the most pressing of all reforms.

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN in *The Evening News*.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Questions intended for answer in this column should be addressed to the Editors "Votes for Women," and specially marked "Answers to Correspondents." They must be accompanied by name and address of the sender, and should be questions relating directly to Woman Suffrage or to the policy of the N.W.S.P.U.

41. *If women have the vote on the same terms as men, will not the majority belong to the illiterate classes, and will it not have the effect of doubling the present uneducated and socialistic ideas?*

If the vote were given to women on the same terms as men, it would be given to those women who are compelled to pay rates and taxes, and who are, therefore, entitled to the vote on that ground. It seems to us to be the height of meanness for the State, which forces these women to pay for its upkeep, to refuse them a voice in the spending of their money. The women who would be enfranchised on these conditions would belong to all classes of society, just as men voters do. It is said that about 80 per cent. would be women who are earning their own living, and, therefore, needing the protection of the vote. There is no reason to suppose that the women would be more illiterate or less educated than the men who at present exercise the franchise.

42. *Is it true that there is a decreasing number of signatures on petitions for women's suffrage since 1886?*

During the first 10 years of the suffrage movement there was an average of 200,000 signatures to petitions for women's suffrage each year; and between 1866 and 1879 no fewer than 2,953,848 persons signed 9,563 petitions to Parliament. The largest single petition for women's suffrage ever presented was in 1896; this was signed by 257,796 women. This petition does not appear in the records of petitions presented to Parliament, because it was not technically a petition, but a memorial to members of Parliament. In organising this memorial the object was to obtain a limited number of representative names from every constituency in the three kingdoms rather than a great mass of signatures from any one district; otherwise the memorial might have been even larger. Of late years the number of petitions and signatures in support of this reform has tended to fall off, not because fewer women desire the franchise—for the contrary is the case—but because the age of petitions has gone by. Women now realise that Parliament has ceased to pay any attention to them, especially if they happen to have been organised by those who are not voters.

43. *Is it not a fact that the passing of the Married Women's Property Act was the consequence of agitation on the part of women? And where can an account of that agitation and the names of women responsible for it be obtained?*

Yes, it is a fact that it was owing to the hard work and self-sacrificing devotion of a number of noble women that this measure of justice was enacted. The agitation began in 1855, when the Hon. Mrs. Norton printed and circulated a letter on the wrongs of women entitled "A Letter to the Queen." Soon after this Miss Barbara Leigh Smith (Mrs. Bodichon) published a pamphlet on the law of England as it affects women. About this time a number of women formed a Married Women's Property Committee in London, of which Mrs. Mary Howitt was the secretary. Under the Divorce Law of 1857 some slight concessions were obtained. In 1867 Mrs. Josephine Butler, Miss Wolstenholme (Mrs. Elmy), and others prepared a memorial on the subject of married women's property, and in 1868 a new Married Women's Property Committee, with Miss Wolstenholme as secretary, was formed, and at last, owing to the zealous and untiring work of these women, the Act of 1870, which gave a married woman the right to her own earnings, was wrung from the Legislature. The committee was reconstituted in 1867, when Mrs. Jacob Bright became the treasurer and Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy continued as secretary. This committee finally succeeded, after the agitation had been in progress for 27 years, in inducing the Government of the day to give facilities for the Act of 1882, which is substantially the law as it affects the property of married women at the present time. How little the Government cared for the reform is shown by the fact that in the Queen's Speech at the opening of the following Parliament, in recording the measures that had become law during the session of 1882, no mention was made of the Married Women's Property Act. A further account of this agitation and of the various Married Women's Property Acts may be found in Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's "History of the Suffrage Movement," in VOTES FOR WOMEN for February, March, and April, 1908.

OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—You will be glad to read these sympathetic words addressed to me by the secretary of a Benevolent Institution in which I am interested. I had explained to him that I could not respond (by a donation) to his appeal for funds, my spare money being wanted for the Women's Suffrage cause. I promised, however, to send a gift as "Thank-Offering" after the granting of Votes to Women.

"I am very sorry you are unable to spare us anything for our general fund. I believe the ladies who are foremost in striving for women's franchise hardly realise what a great and wonderful change would come over England and Europe if women were able to take their right position. As one of the other sex, I am bound to say that I am deeply grieved that it has been necessary for refined ladies to have to clamour with such vigour against the closed door which I am inclined to call 'Stupidity,' with a big 'S'! But we are living in wonderful times, full of hope!"

Yours, &c.,

A. F.

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIPS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—The judge of the Brompton County Court startled women by his decision some weeks ago that wearing apparel given to, or bought for, a wife by her husband is not her property, but his. Until this man-made law is repealed, why should a married woman's domestic work not be paid for by her husband at the same rate which he would have to pay another to do it equally well? The domestic work of a working man's wife or daughter, who leads a life of incessant toil for his benefit, has apparently no money value. She cleans, sews, cooks, and washes for the man and his family, and, in fact, keeps the home quite as much, if not more, than the man who works to supply the money. The money value of woman's work is recognised in the shops, in the factory, in the office, in another person's house; then why not at home, where it is arduous and ceaseless? If an eight-hours' working day is good for a man, and must be paid for at trade union wages, it is good for a woman also, and a sum should be set aside out of the earnings to pay for it. What a happy feeling of domestic partnership would arise if this principle were carried out. The husband earns, say, 30s. a week. He comes home with all his earnings, and says to his wife or sister who keeps the house: We have both done a week's work; here is the money, let us provide the regular expenses, and divide the balance in any agreed shares. Out of this she could buy her own clothing and have a little pocket money.

Yours, &c.,

S. A. WILSON HORN.

A TEACHER'S VIEW.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR:—There is one very grave danger in the attitude of the present Government towards the Woman's Suffrage movement which I have not yet seen alluded to. I mean the effect on the rising generation of their disregard of all justice and the foundation principle on which laws are based.

How can teachers,—a very large number of whom are heart and soul in this movement,—teach their pupils to respect the laws of their country when they see them practically set at naught by the Cabinet Ministers? How can they teach them to trust to the justice of those who are sworn to maintain it, when they know the sentence may be determined before the "trial" has taken place? I speak as one who finds herself unable to play the hypocrite in this matter, and there must be many more.

Yours, &c.,

FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CÆLUM.

OUR COLOURS.

We stand for Hope that riseth green like Spring
Out of the bitter winter of past years;
Fair Hope, that smileth through her falling tears,
Thinking of all the joy fair June will bring.
We stand for dignity, that like a king
A robe of royal purple alway wears;
That sits enthroned, yet lowly stooping, hears
The cry of all in want and suffering.
With these we stand for pureness, white as light,
(In which all colour blends and is complete),
Which walks with knowledge and is unafraid.
These are both shield and sword in the long fight,
These, in our weariness, a rest most sweet;
These, if we falter, both inspire and aid.

MABEL SENNETT.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (two lines)

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Organising Sec.

Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote. The entrance fee is 1s.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed next Session.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

This week our campaign of 1909 begins in earnest. We are ready with a glad heart to throw ourselves with all our energy of body and mind into the work that now lies before us. For to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, work for the cause which is the greatest in all the world is the best of all the joys of life.

We are determined that the year 1909 shall see the political enfranchisement of women accomplished. We face the future with all its possibilities without a fear and without a doubt, for we know that determination and courage and persistence are masters of fate, and, when allied to a just and right and reasonable cause, will dominate circumstances, and accomplish the purpose upon which they have set themselves.

Come weal or come woe, come persecution, coercion, imprisonment, or come a belated yielding to justice, enforced by public opinion, on the part of the Government in power, we are sure of this, that every day we are building up, by means

of our organisation, a strong, independent women's political party, that will infinitely increase the potentiality of the vote when it is won, and will serve, when women are enfranchised, to enlarge the bounds of their freedom, and to secure political recognition of their point of view in the legislation of the country.

Our great concern is to push forward this fight with ever-increasing vigour, at ever accelerating speed. We have to extend and perfect our organisation, carry our operations into new places, and redouble the energy of our militant campaign. We have to multiply our permanent centres all over the country, we must increase our staff of organisers and speakers, we must enlist the enthusiasm in every locality of hundreds of willing helpers who will give their leisure time and their services, working under the direction and leadership of the trained officers of this Union. And, in order to maintain efficiency and extend and develop in every direction, we must see to it that every local campaign, as well as the national campaign, rests on a thoroughly sound and satisfactory financial basis. During 1908, that wonderful year in the women's movement, we raised and spent £19,000, three or four times the amount raised and spent in 1907. This year we ought to raise and spend at least £50,000, and we shall do it, if every woman who is awakened to the great significance of this movement, as it affects not only the womanhood of the world, but the whole human race, realises her privilege and does her duty. Of one thing we may be perfectly sure. No easy victory will be ours. The Government of our day will yield neither to conscience nor to reason, neither to justice nor to right. They will yield only to power manifested in one form or another.

Already, whether they own it directly or not, there are signs that the Government and their agents and friends realise that the Women's Social and Political Union is a powerful political organisation, which has to be reckoned with. It was not sufficiently powerful in 1908 to win votes for women, though it went a very long way towards that end. We have to see to it, and the responsibility rests upon every member of this Union, that it is a sufficiently powerful organisation to wrest for women their long overdue right of citizenship from the hand of a reluctant and reactionary Government in the year 1909, which will stand out in history as a landmark in the evolution and development of women.

We must be powerful financially, because this is a practical world, largely governed by considerations of business. We must be powerful by organisation, by efficiency, by numerical strength, and by popular support, above all, we must be powerful by unity; we must be absolutely united and inspired by the same spirit of love for humanity, by the same intensity of purpose and will, and by the same capacity and readiness for self-sacrifice.

Great is our inheritance. Great is our privilege. Great is our opportunity. We are, of all people, the most to be envied. We have been chosen, we have been called to co-operate with the Divine Will to work out the purpose of destiny—to bring humanity one stage further upon its great journey of evolution. Let us be careful that we rise to this great occasion with a spirit equally great. Then we shall be able to look with unshrinking gaze right to the end of our earthly span of existence, and be ready for any fate that may befall, for we shall know that our life has not been lived in vain, and that we have accomplished the purpose which we were sent into the world to fulfil.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

POLITICAL NOTES.

With the coming Session of Parliament a crisis is reached in the conflict between Suffragists and the Liberal Government. In every Session of the present Parliament the Women's Social and Political Union has demanded the instant settlement of the claim for women's enfranchisement, but each Session Liberals have said, by way of excuse for delay, that to grant votes to women at that particular moment would bring the career of the Government to a premature end. Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech at the Albert Hall on December 5, is reported to have stated the matter thus: "It was part of the action of political Government that they must not bring in a Suffrage Bill unless they were prepared, the moment the Register came into operation, for an appeal to the country. Every great franchise Bill has been brought in on the eve of a dissolution." Mr. Lloyd George then proceeded to explain that this was done "for the very good reason that they had no right to go on legislating when there were millions of people outside whose opinions had never been recorded on the legislative programme."

It is difficult to understand by what logical process Mr. Lloyd George arrives at the conclusion that because it is wrong to legislate for millions of women who have not been consulted, women ought to be kept outside the franchise until Parliament has completed its legislative task. In fact, the reasoning by which he attempted to justify the delay of the Government in granting votes to women involved the admission that a settlement of the question ought no longer to be delayed. But the excuse in question has now lost whatever plausibility it may have ever possessed. Viewed from the highest standpoint, this plea that women must wait for votes until the end of the Government's career was always unsound. Now, not even the greatest opportunist can argue that the Session of 1909 is inopportune for dealing with the question. Nothing is more probable than that a dissolution will take place at its close. It is the fourth year of this Parliament. At the completion of four years of office a Ministry has in general done most of the work which it is destined to perform, and it is rather to the public interest than otherwise that the electors should then be again taken into consultation. As to the present Liberal Government, they are without a doubt nearly at the end of their tether. Day by day they are suffering discredit and loss of prestige, and difficulties are thickening in their path, the unfortunate position in which they find themselves being largely due to their unjust and unstatesmanlike attitude on the Woman Suffrage question and the consequent attack of the Women's Social and Political Union. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he suggested at the Albert Hall that the Government had still a long course to run, was probably assuming a confidence which he does not actually feel, but if his confidence is real, he will find few to share it with him. The present relationship between the House of Commons and the House of Lords alone points to an early dissolution; whether as a means of evading the foreshadowed conflict with the Upper House, or of effectually prosecuting that conflict, the Government can hardly avoid an early appeal to the country. In short, if women are to get payment of the legislative debt due to them in the shape of a Votes for Women measure, they must not delay, but press their claim with urgency and vigour, or they will find that the Liberal Government have escaped payment by means of a General Election.

The Promised Reform Bill.

References by the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George to a Reform Bill to be introduced, not this year, but at some indefinite future time, described as "before the General Election," have misled some suffragists, who regard this Ministerial statement as a guarantee that the Government will continue to exist until the projected Reform Bill becomes law. That, of course, it is not. For, in the first place, even if the Liberal leaders have a genuine desire and intention to carry their Reform Bill before quitting office, circumstances are virtually certain to prevent them from doing so. As a matter of fact, however, there is no real wish or expectation on the part of the Liberal leaders that the Reform Bill shall become law before

the General Election; on the contrary, this Bill is to be held in reserve that it may, in case of party need, serve as a bone of contention with the House of Lords at the coming General Election. Other of the Government's measures have been rejected by the Peers, and the country has remained unmoved. It is thought by the Liberal leaders that the rejection of a franchise measure may prove more provocative of public indignation against the Upper House. Accordingly, the suggestion made by the Prime Minister and repeated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that women shall rely upon this Reform Bill as the means of their political enfranchisement, is merely an invitation to become embroiled in a quarrel between the two Houses of Parliament. From this entanglement we of the Women's Social and Political Union mean to keep clear. Moreover, we do not intend that women's political fate shall still hang in the balance at the General Election. Before that election the Women's Enfranchisement Bill must be carried, and the next Parliament will owe its existence to the support of women as well as of men voters.

Even if the Reform Bill were likely to be carried by this Parliament, it would still be desirable that its introduction should be preceded by the enactment this Session of a women's franchise measure. This would have the two-fold effect of making the political position of women secure, and of rendering easier the subsequent work of electoral reform by clearing one great issue out of the way. Indeed, if the Government were as earnest for electoral reform as they pretend, they would gladly concede the demand that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill should be carried this year.

In making that demand no doubt we shall be met by the excuse that the attention of the Government is occupied by many other large and important questions. This pretext for inaction has been so often relied upon during the past half-century that it has naturally lost any weight it may once have had with women suffragists. In the latter half of last Session it was urged as a reason why the later stages of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill could not be taken that other weighty measures had a prior claim upon the time of Parliament. Yet in the event those measures came to shipwreck, and the public time, which might have been devoted to the successful passage of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, was utterly wasted.

Prospects of the Coming Session.

What of the coming Session? At various times during recent months the Prime Minister has thrown to the various political forces which clamour for legislation more or less vague promises that their claim shall be considered, but on the occasion of his recent speech at the Reform Club, Mr. Asquith wiped the slate clean. While he announced a Budget framed on bold lines, he made it clear that otherwise his legislative programme for 1909 was not yet determined. Various measures are spoken of as likely to find a place in the King's Speech, but none of these transcend in importance the question of Woman Suffrage. Serious as some of them undoubtedly are, they are of narrow application compared to a measure which affects the political position of half the people of Great Britain.

If the question of expediency is to turn the scale, then it should be noted that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is more likely to have a successful course through both Houses of Parliament than are certain other measures which the Government are likely to introduce. But we are not concerned to argue that woman suffrage should be dealt with to the exclusion of all other questions interesting to the Liberal Party. The principle of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill has been endorsed by a large majority in the present House of Commons, and but a few hours' time is required for the consideration and enactment of this measure. They are unreasonable indeed who would deny the right of qualified women to this small share of the time of Parliament.

In the six weeks which remain before the re-opening of Parliament, the members of the Women's Social and Political Union will work as never before to compel the Government to grant the enfranchisement of women in 1909.

Christabel Pankhurst.

THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

BY SYLVIA PANKHURST.

If Votes for Women does not find a place in the next King's Speech, probably a large number of British women who have never committed any crime, will, in the new year that is opening out before us, have to undergo imprisonment for conscience' sake. It behoves us all, therefore, but especially is it the duty of those Cabinet Ministers who are responsible for anything that may happen in this direction, to consider exactly what the treatment of these political women prisoners is to be, and to compare it with that which is meted out to men who have been imprisoned for political reasons in this and other civilised countries.

When Mrs. Pankhurst was speaking in the Queen's Hall on the Tuesday evening after her release, she was presented with a replica of a medal struck to commemorate the winning of the



A Sketch made by Sylvia Pankhurst in Holloway.

Bastille in the French Revolution, and she then stated that she had been born on July 14, the anniversary of the downfall of the Bastille, and that she had always been proud of this fact, and had always thought that the knowledge that her birthday had been the anniversary of the final taking of that monument of tyranny had had an influence upon her whole life. Yet the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her comrades in Holloway is very much more injurious to health and more inhuman in every way than that which in the eighteenth century was the rule in the Bastille itself!

It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the details of the Suffragette prisoners' life in Holloway. Even the general public has heard of the tiny cells in which the prisoners' days and nights are spent, cells which are ill-ventilated, and measure only about 7 ft. by 9 or 10 ft., and in which the little barred windows that are not made to open are placed high up near the ceiling, so that as little as possible of the outside world may be seen. They know, too, of the cold stone floors, which are scrubbed by the prisoner each morning; the narrow plank beds, and the hard and uncomfortable mattresses stuffed with a kind of grass; of the badly cooked, unappetising food, which is served in dingy pewter tins. They have heard of the service in the chapel each morning, where the Suffragettes sit amongst the sad-faced prisoners; and the hour's exercise in the prison yard, the two events that break the monotony of the days, and, worst of all,

of the inexorable rule of silence, the enforced separation from one's own kind, and the cutting off of all that makes life worth living in the outer world, so that even the Suffragette begins to feel that she is losing not only her name (for the prisoners are all called by the numbers of their cell), but, in addition, all strength of will and power of initiative. These things, varied by a few paltry concessions, erratically given, and as erratically taken away from time to time, sum up, as well as a few words may do, the hopeless health and soul destroying life in Holloway.

A Comparison with the Bastille.

All this has been told so often that it has become almost stale to many people, and yet the fact that this dehumanising system exists among us, to be applied to any women, is a blot upon our civilisation, and the knowledge that it is applied to those of our countrywomen who are dedicating their whole lives to the uplifting of the human race may well bring the hot blush of shame to our cheeks. Now, in the Bastille in the eighteenth century the system was less inhuman, for though it is true that some of those who were confined there were thrown into noisome dungeons and loaded with chains, this treatment was usually reserved for exceptional cases, and the lives of the ordinary prisoners, as we may learn from the histories of the fortress and the memoirs of many who were confined there, were very different. We learn from these that most of the rooms were about 20 ft. in diameter and 18 ft. in height. In his memoirs of his imprisonment, M. Linguet says that his room contained a bed with two mattresses, an armchair, and crockery utensils, &c. The prisoners were usually allowed to have extra furniture and conveniences sent in to them by their friends. The food of the prisoners was paid for by the king, at so much a head according to a graduated scale. This consisted of nearly 2s. 6d. a day for an individual of the humblest class; 4s. for a tradesman; 8s. for a priest; a person in the Finance Department, or an ordinary judge; 12s. for a Parliamentary Councillor; 20s. for a Lieutenant-General in the army; and so on, up to two guineas for a prince of the blood.

Even when (as happened if the Governor were dishonest) the whole of the money was not spent on the prisoner, the quantity of food supplied exceeded that of the women in the second-class in Holloway. M. Linguet says: "There are prisoners in the Bastille who have no more than 4 ozs. of meat at a meal" (there were two meat meals each day); "this has been ascertained more than once by weighing what was given to them. The fact is notorious to all the under officers, who are grieved by it." This "grievous" fact sounds strangely when we realise that the Suffragette prisoners who were in Holloway in the second-class never got more, according to the prison dietary, than 3 ozs. of meat on any day, and, of course, those who were in the third-class never received any meat at all. It may be gathered even from the accounts of the Bastille prisoners that the dietary was very much more varied than anything to be had in Holloway. We learn that Sunday's dinner consisted of soup, a slice of beef, and four little pâtés; Monday's, of four pâtés and a haricot; Tuesday, a sausage, half a pig's foot, or a small pork chop; Wednesday, a pie; Thursday, two mutton chops; Friday, half a small carp, either fried or stewed; a haddock or cod with butter and mustard, and also greens and eggs. On flesh days the suppers were fairly uniform. These consisted on Monday, of a slice of roast veal or mutton, or a little plate of haricot with a salad; on fast days the supper consisted of eggs with spinach mixed up with milk and water. On holidays every prisoner had an addition to his allowance of half a roasted chicken, a pigeon, or a pie. Each person had in addition an allowance of a pound of bread and a bottle of wine each day; also dessert, consisting of an apple, a biscuit, a few almonds and raisins, and some cherries, gooseberries, or plums. These were frequently served in pewter, though some prisoners were favoured with earthen dishes and a silver spoon and fork. Prisoners of rank had somewhat better food than that above described.

It is interesting to compare with this the food which would have been served out to ordinary Suffragette prisoners if any of these had remained in the second division over Christmas Day. The breakfast would have been 6 ozs. of bread and a pint of

tea; dinner, 3 ozs. of tinned meat, 8 ozs. of potatoes, and 6 ozs. of bread; supper, 6 ozs. of bread and a pint of cocoa; all this served in dingy-looking tins, and without either knife or fork. Had any Suffragettes been in the third division at the festive season they would have received the ordinary third-class diet of 6 ozs. of bread and a pint of oatmeal gruel for breakfast; 6 ozs. of bread and a pint of oatmeal porridge for dinner; and 6 ozs. of bread for supper.

One of the prisoners who was incarcerated in the Bastille during eight months says: "At eleven my reflections were interrupted by the turnkey, who entered with my dinner. Having spread the table with a clean napkin, he placed the dishes, cut the meat, and retired, taking away the knife. The dishes, plate, spoon, fork, and goblet were of pewter." The same prisoner states that "a bottle of good table wine is supplied, and a pound loaf of the best kind of household bread." It is interesting to note from this how very much more daintily the food was served in the Bastille than is the case in Holloway to-day.

Literary Facilities.

In the Bastille, as in Holloway, there was a prison library, but political prisoners and even some others were frequently allowed to have books and papers of their own sent in, and also to write. Among prisoners who made use of this privilege was Voltaire, who, when imprisoned for libel, formed the plan of the "Henriade," and completed the tragedy of "Œdipus." Another was Count Overgne, who was enabled to study during his long captivity, and who, when he emerged from prison, had become, we learn, "a wiser and better man." Parades was allowed to have what books he pleased, to carry on correspondence, and to be visited by his friends. We must all remember, in this connection, that whilst Christabel Pankhurst was in Holloway a firm of publishers approached her and asked her to write a book about woman suffrage, which was not to be published until after her release, and that the Home Secretary refused to allow her to write this book.

In Russia.

But it is not only in the Bastille, that far-famed monument of oppression, that political prisoners received privileges which are denied to Suffragettes. Even in despotic Russia we find that there are many things which render captivity less undesirable. We learn that M. Tchaykovsky, who has just been released on bail, occupied, as he says, "a spacious vaulted cell, measuring about 20 ft. by 10 ft.," in which there was an iron bedstead instead of the Holloway plank bed. A porcelain basin fixed to the wall under a water-tap, which was also in the cell, strikes one as being especially civilised when one compares it with the little tin 10 inches in diameter, and the scanty supply of cold water fetched by the prisoner the previous afternoon, which does duty for the Holloway prisoner's morning tub.

Mr. Tchaykovsky speaks well of the prison libraries in Russia, for he says that a good many young Russians, especially artisans, owe whatever higher education they have, such as the knowledge of languages and philosophical works, to these libraries. We learn with interest that Mr. Tchaykovsky's wife and daughter were allowed to send in books to him in order to supplement those which he could obtain from the prison, and we remember that this is a privilege not allowed to the friends of our English Suffragettes. He was also allowed to write and to receive two letters a week, but, as we know, the women who want votes are only allowed to write and receive letters once each month.

Mr. Tchaykovsky was also allowed the privilege of regular visits from his wife in an ordinary room, and after she left, from his daughter, twice a week. He says: "These visits were to me like flashes of fresh air and light to one buried alive. I used to live from one visit to another, and often counted the days and even the hours left till the next meeting. It was not that one feels merely lonely . . . but living and dealing all the time with oneself, one begins to lose the sense of reality, and is apt to identify one's own phantoms and abstractions with real things, which makes one feel curiously uneasy and less confident and interested in one's thoughts, a most disheartening sensation."

If Mr. Tchaykovsky, who received privileges in the way of letters and visits which are not extended to the Suffragettes, and who was also able to write—for he says he hopes to publish some of the work which he did there under the title of "Letters from the Fortress"—felt thus, how terrible must the solitary

confinement of prison life be to the Suffragettes whose imprisonment is made so very much more difficult to bear! "But," say Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, "you women have said that you are prepared to suffer and to sacrifice yourselves for your cause. If you are really in earnest, you ought surely to be glad to bear all the unpleasantness of prison life. You have broken the law, and you must be treated as law breakers. You cannot expect privileges, and you shall not have them." A doctrine of this kind would be hard, bitter, and inhuman if it was applied fairly and equally to all political offenders, but it becomes wickedly unjust when distinction is made between those who have the power to retaliate, and those who, because they have no votes, have no direct means of visiting their displeasure upon the Government responsible.

How the Government Treats Cattle Drivers.

That there is this unjust and strikingly different treatment between men and women political offenders in this country becomes evident to us when we compare not only examples of political prisoners like the Jameson Raiders and Mr. W. T. Stead, whose cases have gone by, but the cases also of those who are actually imprisoned at the present time. According to Mr. Birrell's and Mr. Asquith's views, cattle-driving is an exceedingly serious offence.

Mr. Birrell has said that the acts of cattle-driving "are not only illegal and dishonest acts in themselves, but it cannot be doubted that they tend to promote a spirit of lawlessness and turbulence in their particular localities which must certainly be deplored from every possible point of view, political, economic, moral, religious, or in any other way." Mr. Asquith said, when speaking of cattle-driving, that it was "not only an offence against the law, but, in his opinion, it was a peculiarly reprehensible and unpatriotic kind of offence, for in its later developments, quite apart from the injury or suffering it inflicted upon individuals, it was doing infinite mischief to one of Ireland's most prosperous and most necessary industries."

But in spite of what these Liberal statesmen have said, the Irish cattle-drivers who were committed to prison in default of giving sureties for good behaviour are treated as untried prisoners, whereas the Suffragettes, who are sent to prison under precisely similar circumstances, though for a different offence, are placed in the second division. The cattle-drivers actually have all the privileges which Mrs. Pankhurst in her petition to the Home Secretary during her imprisonment in October asked for, and was refused. Cattle-drivers may occupy, on payment of a small sum, a suitable room or specially fitted cell, furnished with bedding and other articles, in addition to or different from those supplied with ordinary cells, and at their own cost they may have private furniture and other articles sent in to them. They are not compelled to perform any manual labour, and on payment of a small sum they may requisition the Governor to appoint an assistant to relieve them from unaccustomed tasks or offices. They may provide themselves with food or malt liquor at their own cost; they may wear their own clothing; may exercise separately from other prisoners, and may smoke whilst at exercise.

It will be remembered that when Mrs. Pankhurst was ill in Holloway, and when her friends petitioned the Home Secretary asking to be allowed to send in an independent doctor to report as to her condition, the request was refused, but nevertheless the cattle-drivers may receive medical attendance and medicines from outside the prison at any time if they wish. They may freely receive books, newspapers, or other means of occupation, and may communicate freely by letter with their friends outside. In addition to all these privileges they may receive visits from one or more persons for a quarter of an hour every day; in special cases the period of the visits may be prolonged, and the number of visitors increased.

The difference between the treatment of the cattle-drivers and that of the Suffragettes is especially striking in this particular respect, for the monthly visit of three persons for a quarter of an hour, inclusive, which each Suffragette is allowed, may only be had in the presence of a wardress, who refuses the friends permission to take notes of any messages that may be sent out, to show any newspaper cuttings to the prisoner, or to talk of any matter relating to newspapers, and who has the right to object to the prisoner telling anything about the prison treatment; in fact, she is the censor of all the conversation which may pass between the prisoner and her friends.

Now, these are the ordinary cattle-drivers. These are the men who have actually put the advice of some of their leaders

into practice, but for those who have incited them to do so even greater privileges are reserved. The case of Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., who only the other day was required to give sureties for good behaviour in connection with a speech delivered by him in County Longford on December 6, is technically parallel with that of Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond, who were stated to have incited the Suffragettes and the public to "rush" the House of Commons. It was alleged that in this speech of Mr. Farrell's, which was also published in the *Longford Leader*, of which he is editor and manager, he incited to cattle-driving and also to boycotting, so that, without expressing an opinion as to whether the case was proved, or whether if Mr. Farrell were guilty he was or was not justified in his action, it must be admitted by all that the offence was a very serious one. Mr. Farrell was, as we have seen, ordered to be bound over, and on his refusal, he was committed to prison. Mr. Farrell has been placed in the first division. The question which all those of us who love fair play ought to ask of Mr. Gladstone is, why Mr. Farrell, M.P., is to receive better treatment than that which was meted out under similar circumstances to the Suffragettes?

In times gone by it could be said of the men who governed our country that, with all their faults, they had won for Great Britain a high character among the nations of the earth for its just regard for the people's liberties and its tolerant treatment of political law breakers. Now this present Liberal Government have associated with our country's name the stigma, not only of having ruthlessly thrown into prison the women who are fighting for citizen rights, but, in addition to this, have treated these women whom it has imprisoned not as political offenders are treated in civilised countries, but as common criminals.

To restore the honour of their country, therefore, it is high time that all true English men and women should protest.

HOW WE WON IN VICTORIA.

Since 1903 the Woman Suffrage Bill in Victoria has been in the hands of private members, but we have never ceased for one minute our demand that the Government should take it up, and a couple of months ago we succeeded in extracting a promise from the Premier (Sir Thomas Bent)—our long time opponent—that he would make it a Government measure. On September 18 I received a private intimation that he had yielded; he announced the fact in the Lower House October 7; he introduced the Bill on October 14. It was read a second time and passed on October 21 by 45 votes to 9. On November 18 it passed the House of Obstruction, constitutionally known as the Legislative Council. I suppose the cables will have informed you of the bare fact; but they could not tell you how triumphant the victory was, for contrary to all precedent, when a Woman Suffrage Bill was before the Council, the "Noes" did not call for a division. They did not wish to see the details of their overwhelming defeat—our magnificent victory—recorded in "Hansard" or in the Press; but I was not going to allow it to pass unrecorded, so I determined to do some mild "suffragetting" on my own account. Defying all the Parliamentary rules which forbid visitors in the Gallery to take notes, I took notes, and immortalised the names representing 23 "Ayes" and 5 "Noes." We knew we were going to win, but in our most sanguine moments we never anticipated such a victory. Even the Government did not expect more than a majority of two in the House of Rip Van Winkles.

Our Bill came before the Council on October 27, but trouble had been brewing in the Assembly for some weeks, a number of the Ministerial supporters being dissatisfied with the *personnel* of the Cabinet. When the House met, the Premier, to the surprise of everyone, moved the adjournment until November 18 to allow for a reconstruction of the Ministry. The Council met merely to adjourn formally, but one of our friends, Mr. Edgar, M.L.C., cleverly seized the opportunity to present our Woman Suffrage declaration, an enormous roll containing 21,000 names, mostly those of women prominent in home making, in philanthropy, in industry, in the professions, who declared themselves favourable to woman suffrage being passed into law without further delay. There are still a few people in Victoria who have the temerity to assert, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary given by the Federal elections, that the women do not want the vote, but in every section we appealed to we found nearly 100 per cent. ready to make their "declaration." Mr. Edgar had no sooner resumed his seat than up rose Mr. Harwood, the oldest member of the House, a staunch defender of the exclusive rights of property—owned by men—to the protection of the vote. Mr. Harwood said he had a petition against the Bill, but he did not say how many signatures it contained, and when the House met again he had not the

slightest doubt he would have between forty and fifty thousand names against the Bill. On November 18 he presented a microscopic roll "from the women of Victoria" containing "about 3,500 signatures." The House screamed with laughter, and members asked him what he had done with the rest of his 47,000! Thus all the time they had been at work the anti-suffrage forces had only been able to get "about 3,500" to sign the women's declaration of dependence. Our declaration of interdependence had only been worked in a casual way, in the brief intervals when we were not busy laying mines for the Premier, and yet, working in such an amateurish fashion, we had secured 21,000 names, representing the best of the philanthropic, the industrial, and educational forces in our State. There was not one anti-suffragist present in the galleries during the debate, and the few opponents who spoke were men who are regarded as political derelicts. They are completely out of touch with their constituents; they became members of the Council in the palmy days when the property qualification was so high that only wealthy men, who in this part of the world are usually most undemocratic, had a chance of offering themselves for election.

The Australian woman suffrage movement began in Victoria in 1869—Victoria, the first colony to demand political freedom for women, the last State to see it realised. Thirty-nine years' work! Why? Because Victoria has the most strongly entrenched Upper House in the world, and a Lower House that for the past twenty years has had no men worthy of the name of statesmen, who, even with the Upper House constitutionally fortified as it is, could have fought it successfully on the question of woman suffrage. But now that we have won such a great victory, we can nearly forget all that Victorian women have had to suffer in the winning. We are thankful to be free, because of our own self-respect, because of the power it gives us to help in making Australia a great nation, and because we shall be freer to help our sisters in other lands to win their political liberty. "Failure is impossible."

Vida Goldstein.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

The following letter has been received by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence:—

MY DEAR MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE,—The officers of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance have voted to accept the invitation tendered by the Social and Political Union to attend a meeting to be held under its auspices in Albert Hall, April 29, 1900, at which time the *casus belli* of the so-called "English Suffragette" will be set forth by your speakers.

When the suffrage is won in England, as it will be soon, the "militant policy" of your organisation will divide opinion throughout the world. One class will claim that the suffrage might have been won by the usual "constitutional" campaign; another, that it never would have come had not unusual methods been employed. This difference of view will enter the ranks of every national association, and parties will come forward to champion and to oppose "militant methods."

It requires no prophet to predict the inevitable coming of this situation. Meanwhile, every fair-minded Suffragist will esteem it a great and valued privilege to hear the case presented and defended by your own able women.

Cordially,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Office of the President, 2, West 86th-street, New York,
December 18, 1908.

PURPLE, WHITE, AND GREEN.

We are knocking, knocking, knocking at a little wicket gate,
We are out to win a battle that's as old as Time and Fate;
There are women in the fighting line, each one of them a queen,
For we're crowned with freedom's colours, the purple, white, and green.

To clamour for our Heritage we've donned our royal state,
To come knocking, knocking, knocking at a little wicket gate,
Where thousands gather silently, and thousands stand and wait.

In the world we mean to conquer, the sunlight has a sheen
As of dancing, irrepressible purple, white, and green.

We are beating down the barriers of that little wicket gate,
We have swept aside the cravens who whined and bade us wait;
The past has taken toll of those who went ere they had seen
The coming and the conquest of the purple, white, and green;
And the timid, aged keepers of that ancient little gate
Are fumbling with their rusty keys a century too late,
For we're beating, beating, beating down the barriers of the gate!

In the heaven of our conquering the stars are wearing green,
The sun and moon and stars are wearing purple, white, and green.

LONDON.

I want especially to appeal for members to come forward and help in the outdoor sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The new scheme, of which Mrs. Baldock has charge, is going on well, and a great many people have bought a dozen or more copies outright each week to sell again. I should like to see our friends coming forward in greater numbers to help in this way. Volunteers can get a supply of papers from Mrs. Baldock at the offices between the hours of 11 and 7 any day except Saturdays, or at the Monday afternoon and Thursday evening At Homes.

Tamworth is still undecided, but I am on the spot, and ready for action should a Liberal candidate present himself for the vacancy.

Flora Drummond.

LANCASHIRE.

Manchester Central Office: 164, Oxford-road.

At Homes.—Manchester: Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Fridays, 8-10.

Liverpool: 48, Mount Pleasant, Tuesdays, 8-10.

Preston: Glovers Court, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

Important Event.—Manchester: Free Trade Hall, Tuesday, January 19, Christabel Pankhurst.

Advantage has been taken by members of the prevalent Christmas festivities as a means of advertising and selling tickets for the Free Trade Hall meeting. On Saturday night a "sandwich parade" took place through the busiest streets of the city, and the interest and sympathy evinced by the public amply compensated for the disappointment occasioned us by our inability to appear on previous evenings, on account of the inclement weather. On New Year's Day a competitive meeting, held under the auspices of a local Welsh Independent chapel, was visited by members. An item on the programme was a three-minutes' speech on "Votes for Women." The prize, which was won by a member, will be given to the cause. Good propaganda work was done, several members of the audience promising to come to the weekly At Homes and the Free Trade Hall meeting.

The first Manchester At Home will be held on Friday, January 8, at the Onward-buildings, Deansgate, when Miss Gawthorpe will be present.

Mabel Capper.

A HOLIDAY MEETING.

On Saturday last, a little village in Switzerland, 4,000 feet above the sea level—Villars in the Rhone Valley—was the scene of an animated meeting on the subject of Votes for Women. The Suffragettes were in Villars thinking to spend a quiet holiday, but the English visitors would have none of it, and insisted upon having a discussion on the subject. At first it was to be a debate, but as no opponent would come forward, a special letter of invitation was sent to Christabel Pankhurst by thirty or forty among the visitors that she should give them an address. The largest room in the Muveran Hotel was provided, and some 400 people (about half the total number of English visitors) crowded in to listen, and subsequently to put questions to the speaker. After these had all been dealt with, the meeting was brought to an end, many of the audience acknowledging that a completely new light had been thrown on the subject, and a number expressing their intention of following it up when they returned to England.

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LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—On Monday, December 28, we had a "Votes Corps" outside the Theatre Royal, and sold copies of our paper. Friday, January 1, we began the New Year well. Miss Turner, our energetic literary secretary, held an At Home on that evening at her house. Miss Kathleen McKeown gave us a short description of the breakfast, procession, and meeting of Tuesday, December 22, in London; also recounting her experiences as a seller of VOTES FOR WOMEN in Oxford-street. We are looking forward to the visit of Miss Nancy Lightman on the 8th, and have secured the Reception-room at the Hove Town Hall for that evening. The meeting will be at 8 p.m., and we hope all persons interested will come. Admission is free, but a collection will be taken up to defray expenses. Anyone wishing to join our local Union and give help in work and money please note address, 209, Preston Drive.

I. G. MCKEOWN.

Edinburgh W.S.P.U.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Waddle on Tuesday last, when Miss K. Scott-Moncrieff addressed the guests. A pretty feature of the gathering was cakes with icing in the colours of the Union, which were handed round with tea. On Wednesday, January 6, we open again after the holidays, and at 4 p.m. we hold our weekly At Home in our rooms in the Albert Buildings, 24, Shandwick-place; also on Thursday, at 8 p.m., at both of which speeches will be made by well-known Edinburgh members.

ESSON MAULE.

Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.—During the few days preceding Christmas a magnificent cake, in the purple, white, and green, with "Votes for Women" in the icing, and bearing a ribbon badge of the W.S.P.U., was displayed in a local confectioner's window. On Christmas Eve it was despatched to the Metropolitan and City Orphanage at Twickenham, with a note saying that it was the gift of the Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U., and was sent as a mark of appreciation for the courteous manner in which the officers of the local police force have met the extra tax on their time and patience occasioned by the work of the Suffragettes in the neighbourhood.

Hornsey W.S.P.U.—By the joint-subscriptions of five friends we have been able to engage a permanent hall for our fortnightly public meetings. The hall is in Park-road, Crouch End, near the Clock Tower, and bears the name of "Ye China Cup." Our first meeting there will be on Friday, January 15, at 8 p.m., and subsequent meetings will be held at the same time on alternate Fridays. Fifteen of our members are busy circulating the neighbourhood with handbills relating to our meetings, and we are hopeful of making a really good start. Miss E. E. Wood has kindly promised to read a paper on "Woman's Place in Industry—Past and Present," and I shall follow her with a talk about "The Immediate Need for Militant Tactics." Will all who read this notice, and who live in the neighbourhood, make an endeavour to come to this meeting, to bring friends with them, and to make our opening night a real success by giving in their names as willing to help forward the cause in this part of London?

THEODORA BONWICK.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—We held our first whist drive, Wednesday, December 30 at the Welcome Restaurant, and members and friends thoroughly enjoyed the evening. The announcement of Mrs. Pankhurst's coming to Leicester on January 25 was received with acclamation, and many promised to do all in their power to make the meeting a great success. We are starting the New Year determined to help force the Government to include the enfranchisement of women in the King's Speech for next Session. We are looking forward to some good meetings as soon as Miss New arrives. We mean to rouse the people of Leicester from their apathy. I may inform all Leicester readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN that the tickets for the demonstration to be held in the Corn Exchange on January 25, 1909, are now ready, and can be had of any of the members, or at 18, Mantle-road. The prices of the tickets are 2s., 1s., and 6d., and all friends willing to help in any way for the success of the meeting will be given work to do on applying to the same address.

(MRS.) ALICE HAWKINS.

"The Purple, White, and Green."—One of the wards in the Hendon Infirmary was beautifully decorated on Boxing Day in the colours of the W.S.P.U., each of the patients also wearing a favour in the tricolour. Two children recently born in the ward have been christened Christabel and Sylvia, in token of the admiration felt for the leaders of the movement.

WHY I AM A SUFFRAGIST.

I am a Suffragist because I sincerely believe what the "Antis" are eternally saying with their lips, but do not believe, *i.e.*, that the highest and holiest occupation on earth is the bearing and rearing and educating of the succeeding generation. How do I know that they and all the world do not believe it? I will tell you. Because this work is relegated to pauper labour. The world pays for what it values. How does it pay its mothers? With board and lodging and tips. How does it pay its nursemaids, to whom it intrusts the young? Almost the least of all its servants. How does it pay its teachers, who bend the plastic minds of our children? About as much as our cooks, when you consider living expenses of both. I believe the chief value to the world of the business woman will be to raise the status of the home woman—the mother—to put her work on a more respected basis.—*Dr. Anna Blount.*

In a prize competition instituted by the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—"The twelve most notable events of the year 1908"—the prize was divided between four competitors, who gave the Suffragette agitation as one of the twelve events.

What an Individual Can Do.

Beautiful, haughty, dignified, stern Edinburgh, with your cautious, conservative steadfast people, you have not yet woken up to take part in our militant methods. Feeling that example is better than all precept, I determined on my arrival in Edinburgh to carry out the same sort of plan of campaign that we are accustomed to in London. Starting with a small subscription, I ordered four dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN, donned a poster, and sallied forth to face disapproval. In a hundred minutes I had disposed of 100 copies, and felt very triumphant. The following week a very charming lady doctor and two girl graduates helped me, and we sold 400 copies in about seven hours combined. So we proved the success of this way of spreading our propaganda. I was told that outdoor meetings would never succeed in Edinburgh. It was the wrong time of the year, and the weather was too cold. All sorts of objections were raised, but I determined to try. My best meeting was held at the fishing village of Newhaven. We had a crowd of about 300 to whom we gave away leaflets and sold literature. We had very strong evidence of the sympathy and support of these fishing men and women. Several outdoor meetings followed, but our greatest triumph was the meeting outside the Students' Union, where we were successful in drawing many of the students out to listen. They asked us questions, hat in hand; they were most polite and courteous. I find that in spite of all foreboding it is quite possible to hold outdoor meetings in Edinburgh, even in the winter, because the success depends more upon the courage and endurance of the speakers than upon the state of the weather. I want to appeal to Edinburgh people to set to work on the same lines as the people in other places.

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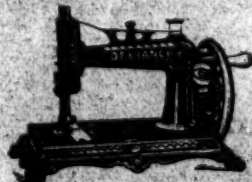
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